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ABSTRACT

This report assesses the state of the art of research into and accepted knowledge of "language in the classroom," particularly in Scotland. The discussion is organized in six sections: (1) language-related causes of educational failure and remedial programs set up with the intention of compensating for various kinds of deprivation; (2) attitudes toward language and language use; (3) social dialect differences and the effects of the contexts of the playground, the home, and the peer group; (4) classroom verbal interaction; (5) programs and materials for spoken language instruction, and (6) recommendations for types and areas of research. A lengthy bibliography is included. (AA)

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ED140348

RESEARCH ON SPOKEN LANGUAGE IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOL

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A Report to the Scottish Education Department

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Foreword

The report* which follows is a personal assessment by the two main authors of the present 'state of the art' of research into and accepted knowledge of the 'language in the classroom'. It ranges far wider than the classroom itself for the obvious reasons that the way children perform there can only be understood by examining the way they behave elsewhere together with the factors which contribute to this difference. Indeed, the amount of space devoted to an analysis of the research on classroom language is quite limited since the considerable amount of work carried out does not cohere and make up a body of findings within a coherent theory or even within a handful of such theories.

The report is not written in order to present to the academic community a critical analysis of the research literature. Indeed each of the areas we have covered is worthy of a book length review on its own account. Its purpose is to select out a number of dominant (or absent) themes in research and present to the Scottish Education Department a non-technical document, which reflects a coherent viewpoint and indicates those areas we consider most suitable for research in Scotland.

The bibliography which we append is not intended to be a full or complete bibliography on the chapter topics. Many well known books or articles, particularly of a theoretical nature, have been omitted, but most of the research reports which have been summarised are included. One caveat should be entered. Child language acquisition is a vast subject and there is no clear cut demarcation

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between it and the subject of this report. Most references to early acquisition have been excluded. The purpose of the bibliography is to provide the starting point for any researcher in the first stages of his ciritical review of the literature.

We hope, therefore, that the report will be of use in pointing up potential areas of research into Spoken Language in the Primary School.

Introduction

1. This report contains a critical survey of research in the area of spoken language in the primary school and concludes with the recommendations for new openings in research. A select bibliography is appended.

2. We start from the fact that much of the work on language in education has begun from the standpoint of educational failure. Language has been seen as a cause of failure but at the same time as open to remedial action. There are two contrasted viewpoints on why language can cause failure in school. One argument runs that some children are lacking in the essential words and structures necessary for them to think and argue: therefore they must be given the words and structures and drilled in them until they can use them freely. The counter argument is that these children already have the structures and most of the words and are just as capable of thinking and arguing amongst their peers as anyone else. Where they differ is in the use of the language which teachers and others believe to be suitable for school. According to this argument, their use of language and their attitudes are not inferior, just different, and society needs to recognise these differences. The teacher's job is therefore to make children use their existing language structures and words appropriately in different contexts.

We go on to look at the different remedial programmes set up in Britain and the USA with the intention of compensating for various kinds of deprivation. Even our brief examination shows that the aims of the programmes are both extremely varied and frequently vague and unrealistic.

3. Since attitudes to language and language use may be relevant to perfomance in the school we go on to examine the research in this area. We examine the way that language is often used as a means of making stereotyped judgements about others and conclude that there is prima facie evidence that teachers may be influenced in the way they classify and treat children by the accents and dialect features that they hear. Children likewise are influenced by their families and by their peers in the attitudes and values about language that they hold, with a resultant effect on what kind of language they are prepared to learn to use in school.

4. The implication of differing attitudes towards the language of teachers and of peers is that different varieties of language are spoken in different domains of society. We therefore examine some of the research on social

dialect differences, and in particular look at the effect of the contexts of the playground, the home and the peer group on children's usage.

5. Language in the classroom forms one particularly important domain. We have therefore examined the large amount of educational research on classroom interaction or microteaching, case studies of schools and classrooms as social institutions, and the more limited work specifically aimed at studying the structure of the verbal interaction between teachers and pupils. We conclude that the theoretical models underlying the analysis of classroom verbal interaction are still very primitive.

6. Perhaps for this reason it is not clear from the literature whether or not children do need to be taught the spoken language at all. Indeed the assumption seems to be that they do not. This would appear to be the reason for the scarcity of existing normal (not remedial) teaching programmes for the spoken language. Those in favour of such programmes have so far restricted themselves to a number of unconnected suggestions rather than concrete syllabuses.

7. In conclusion we give the assumptions underlying our recommendations for research and then list a number of suitable areas for research.

Section 1: EDUCATIONAL FAILURE

1.1 Causes

Many factors, alone or in combination, have been considered to be responsible for educational failure. On the one hand, they include 'environmental' factors such as the home, the peer group, and the school; on the other they include what were often considered to be the genetic or individual factors of intelligence, motivation and language. It should be noted that the last three factors are only in part determined genetically or by the individual personality. They must also be considered socially determined.

It is interesting, if sad, to notice how, in accordance with the intellectual fashions of the day, a single factor has been picked out as dominant in causing educational failure. During the period of the 1920's-1940's intelligence was thought to be the key factor. In the 1950's and 1960's it appears as if the home was considered the dominant factor and this is certainly the message we are left with by the Plowden Report. The SED Report of Primary Education in 1965 may be said to have focussed on the school as dominant. Since the late 1960's language has been coming to the forefront as the prime factor.

It is not surprising that language should be seized on as the overriding factor, since it enters into most human behaviour, social and cognitive, forms a large part of the schooling process and appears isolatable and hence can be acted on alone in any educational intervention programme.

The reason for the unsuccessful search for the cause of educational failure is the excessive weight that has been heaped in turn on the chosen factor. Educational failure could never and cannot now be attributed primarily to any of the above quoted factors. It can only be caused by the interplay of this or another set of factors. We can only recommend and hope, therefore, that linguistics is not treated as the easy practical answer to failure as this would inevitably lead to total disillusion setting in and the useful, but limited, work in language programmes which could be done, being halted.

1.2 Theories of Educational Disadvantage through Language

In many government reports reference is made to groups or categories of children who are at a disadvantage compared with most other children when going to school. Their chances of success are much lower. The cause of their

greater likelihood of failure is then said to be deprivation. This may be some form of social deprivation, or, as is most relevant here, language deprivation. This means that children are said either not to have enough language or not to have the right bits.

Now deprivation for a Pakistani immigrant child, born in Pakistan and brought to Britain during the primary school years is obvious. He doesn't have English and needs to learn it. Deprivation, however, for a Glasgow child, born in Glasgow and speaking a local (and class) dialect is more problematic. The argument runs that he suffers from language deprivation since he does not speak the kind of language used in the school. What then can account for his language deprivation? There are two alternative answers which we shall discuss under the headings of deficit and difference; they stand for a whole set of attitudes towards deprivation in general and social differentiation in particular.

Let us take the deficit theory first. According to the proponents of this theory, amongst whom have been many educators, language deprivation is due to a linguistic deficit. The view is held that the language code known and used by the so-called deprived children is markedly inferior when compared with the standard variety. It is the structure of the language or dialect code of these children which is regarded as demonstrably inadequate since it does not contain enough sophisticated categories for thinking and arguing, those being two basic components of education. Bereiter et al (1966) are the much quoted source of statements in this mode, e.g. their report that the 4-year old Negro children they were working with had speech forms that were nothing more than a series of emotional cries and hence their decision to treat the children 'as if the children had no language at all'. In a famous or infamous quotation they state 'the language of culturally deprived children .... is not merely an underdeveloped version of standard English, but is a basically non-logical mode of expressive behaviour'.

Put in a less abrasive manner the argument can be paraphrased thus. Children who have only a limited vocabulary and a restricted repertoire of grammatical structures are at risk in school. They are at risk because those missing words and structures are needed for thinking and arguing. Therefore these children should be taught lots of words and practice lots of structures.

The difference supporters claim that there is no documented case where it has ever been shown that one dialect code is logically inferior to another and that all claims that this occurs are based on very superficial

contrastive studies of surface structure. They claim that there is no evidence that children are without the linguistic tools for arguing and thinking, two basic components of their normal life at home or with their friends. Furthermore they assert that within Britain or the USA there are many sub-cultures with different norms and associated forms of behaviour. No arbitrary sets of norms such as those associated essentially with the middle class values of the schools can be defined as 'good' causing children to be judged as normal or deficient by the degree to which they do or do not conform to this standard. Difference supporters argue the case for equal regard for all culturally different groups.

1.3 Measurement of Language Deprivation

Before we can safely join in the argument over 'deficit' versus 'difference' we need to establish that there are differences in the language categories of children. How can we measure these differences?

The first distinction we need to make (which is unfortunately not always adhered to in the interpretation of research results) is between competence and performance. It is essential that there be no mixing or confusion between a child having the essential linguistic knowledge (competence) and his making use of it in some particular way (performance). Related to this is the distinction between production and comprehension. Because a child does not produce a particular kind of grammatical construction or lexical item, it cannot necessarily be assumed that he does not comprehend it.

The next important distinction to be made is between linguistic competence and what is now commonly called communicative competence. The knowledge that makes a performance as speaker or hearer possible is not knowledge of language alone but also of the sociolinguistic rules that relate speech (and its interpretation) to social variables such as sex, age, status, setting etc.

Finally we wish to draw attention to the differences which are involved when one is specifically examining connected speech and not isolated sentences, i.e. discourse. Firstly there is a level of structure higher than the sentence involved. Secondly a distinction needs to be made between the linguistic forms used in an utterance and the function that the utterance is actually fulfilling in the context of the discourse. That is, one cannot interpret what a child means or is trying to say purely by an examination of the language forms that he uses.

Most of the research on deprivation needs to be closely examined in terms of the distinctions we make above before we can accept the conclusions given. For example, in his early work Bernstein's hypothesis appeared to be that there was a correlation between social class and the use of elaborated/restricted codes in particular experimental situations. The hypothesis was crude and the measuring tools were crude. Unfortunately many researchers elsewhere have latched on to this stage of Bernstein's development and not a later one. Subsequently there has been a plethora of studies 'proving' that lower working class and middle class children have access to restricted and elaborate codes respectively.

Much, if not most, of this work is essentially trivial and cannot bear the conclusions placed upon it. In the first place the situation in which the children are asked to produce language is usually a formal interview one or a formal classroom one. What is produced there is determined not solely by a child's linguistic knowledge (competence) but by his judgement of what is appropriate for that context.

Secondly, work of this kind must be judged on whether the right linguistic units have been chosen. Cazden (1972) mentions the three most frequent types of measures used in the descriptions of child language. Firstly, there is the mean length of utterance. In itself this is not of inherent interest. It is used as an indirect measure of complexity and does not of itself say anything about what a child can or cannot do with language. Secondly there have been attempts to draw up weighted scales to measure complexity. However, syntactic complexity is not something that linguists and psychologists are agreed it is possible to measure in any valid way. Additionally, this is an area in which dialect differences can distort a measure based on the structure of standard English. Finally frequency counts of linguistic features are used. Some such counts can be uninformative in that they pick out individual parts of the grammar and do not treat them as part of a system. They are also sometimes treated as if they were unrelated to the contexts in which they are measured. They can quite legitimately be used, of course, where the items chosen are known to be socially most significant and where inferences from the performance data are not used to make statements about the linguistic knowledge of the children. Investigation into both language knowledge (competence) and performance is needed but the two must not be mixed up.

1.4 Programmes for the Disadvantaged

Eventually the argument (and there is a great deal of it in the literature) comes back to the pragmatic question asked by Engel (1972):

> 'I want to know what to do differently for the Mexican American child from what I do for the Anglo child when I am teaching him 2 + 2 = 4.'

Substitute lower working class and middle class for Mexican American and Anglo and we have a question relevant to the Scottish or British scene.

The viewpoint underlying Angel's question is that the educational system has norms and imposes them through certificates and examinations etc. The issue is said to become a completely practical one, of how to do something for those who are likely to fail in schools. What the cause is, may be left unresolved. This is where the Programmes for the Disadvantaged come in or in the UK the Educational Priority Areas action research.

The trouble with leaving causes unresolved is, of course, that it just doesn't work. Unless the causes are known how can the effects be changed? What can be done meaninfully for the disadvantaged child unless you know what is causing that disadvantage? This is exactly where the Language Programmes have foundered and where, so far as has been reported, the EPAs have also come to grief.

What all Language Programmes have in effect done, is to compensate in some way for what is regarded as non middle class about the working class. In other words to do that socially tainted thing - intervene. Starting pragmatically they have accepted one or other version of class differences and have attempted to compensate for this. We may guess that it is hoped that, working as they do on disadvantaged children's language, the programmes will have an effect on children's cognitive development.

For such a pragmatic approach it does not matter whether language is merely the means to an end (development of cognition) or the end in itself. What such programmes do, then, is accept a view of class or other status differences and attempt some compensating action.

1.5 Practical Action in Language Programmes - USA

Many many language programmes have been assembled; already in 1965 the National Council for Teachers of English publication Language Programs for the Disadvantaged (Corbin and Crosby) was able to detail a whole series of interventions. As we have hinted, after the initial euphoria in the USA in the mid 1960's at the height of the NDEA period there has followed a stage

of scepticism. The reason for this is the lack of agreement about what is intended, what is the criterion of desired performance, and what 'advantage' is. Baratz (1972) summarises the kinds of approach by these programmes:

> 'Speech and language programs have been devised that focussed on the language abilities of preschoolers, elementary and secondary students, dropouts, and adult 'new careers' people.
>
> 'The preschool programs are best represented by the intervention programs known generally as 'head start'. The programs were developed on a deficit model, and most program directors believed that they were teaching these children language (not a second language). These programs were generally of two types:
>
> a) Enrichment - here it was presumed that the language of the black child was underdeveloped due to lack of stimulation, poor mothering etc., and the program was designed to compensate for this. The children learned about neighbourhood workers, the friendly policeman, colors, nursery rhymes etc. The best of the middle class nursery school was presented to these children.
>
> b) Academic - the now famous Bereiter and Engelmann approach. These intervention programs were not based on underdevelopment of skills but rather on a presumed absence of the skills. These programs attempted to teach the children language arts and mathematical skills through formalized instruction.
>
> 'Since one of the avowed purposes of these early childhood intervention programs was to 'improve language skills' (tacitly defined in these programs as teaching the child to speak standard English), one would have to say the programs were a failure in that there are no data to indicate that following a preschool intervention program, these children were more proficient speakers of standard English.'

While accepting the general gloom of this review, it does seem relevant to note that Baratz's equation of 'improved language skills' and 'more proficient speakers of standard English' is not necessarily acceptable. It all depends how that improvement/proficiency was assessed. It looks as though fairly standard tests of attainment were used in so far as any evaluation was carried out, and these are not necessarily valid tests of language skills 'improvement'.

Halsey (1972) in his description of the EPA plan raises the question of whether 'the whole (USA) compensatory education movement has not in fact been a series of 'paper programmes' founded on inadequate assumptions and poorly articulated theory.' He maintains 'such programmes have set themselves unrealistic objectives. This problem is particularly marked where vague non-educational goals are put forward - for example "breaking the poverty cycle"; and in general, the more extensive and varied the programme, the more likely it is to have such objectives. Thus 'umbrella' programmes such as Head Start almost inevitably become associated with broad objectives as a way of including the varied components of such programmes.' On the other hand 'the more intensively the programme is geared to such intellectual development as language skills, the more substantial the gains that have been achieved. The work of Bereiter and Engelmann is among the best known in this field, but several other research studies have shown considerable gains in children's ability at the end of the programme, for example the Early Training Project in Nashville, the work of Deutsch and his associates at the Institute for Developmental Studies in New York, the various pre-school projects run at Ypsilanti, Michigan, by Weikart and his colleagues, the individual tutorial scheme carried out by Marion Blank in New York, and many others.'

Halsey sums up the American experience in compensatory education as a movement that began with a specific educational problem and spread into a socio/political issue. Educational solutions were, it was felt, not enough.

1.6 Practical Action in Language Programmes - UK

The British Educational Priority Area scheme was intended to be an approach on a wider social front. 'All four projects were concerned to devise action programmes which would be effective in producing institutional change. (Halsey, 1972)' The Scottish project (in Dundee) had a similar intention. As part of their National Pre-School Experiment the EPA teams made use of the American Peabody Language Development Kit and concluded 'in general the PLDK groups improved more over the year on all three tests thus supporting the view that the PLDK assists language development (Morrison, Swatt and Lee, 1974).

Further experiments in the development of pre-school language kits are described in the EPA Report (Vol.1 Chap.8) (Halsey 1972). The most fully described is the individual language programme used in the W. Riding Project. What is particularly significant about this programme is that its effects tend to be maintained into the Primary School. The individual language programme appears to make much use of face to face language contact between teacher and pupil in which the teacher uses questioning to help the child's

thinking.

The conclusion of the ETA (Vol.1) report on language is 'there is a firm case to be made for extensive language programmes, but here again it is important that these are imbued with a high sense of social purpose, and that reading and writing are exercised on socially relevant material.'

The Dundee Project describes one such programme developed by the Project. Their programme may, they say, be viewed as a curriculum made up of smaller "playsems" within larger themes. (Playsem is a coinage from play and seminar). As far as we can see this is a situational type programme in which the purpose is to link context (e.g. the body) to relevant language items. Such a programme differs from a highly behavioural one of the Bereiter/Engelmann type (known in Second Language circles as 'pattern practice') where there is no attempt at indicating situation. Their conclusion, based on analysis of data from various standardised tests, including language ones, is that Nursery schooling produces the most dramatic rise of test scores but that their language programme might well be able to achieve similar results much more cheaply. It is interesting, however, that in their conclusion the Dundee reporters make no statements about the need for or value of language programmes either in the preschool or in the primary school.

1.7 Summary

Definitions of the linguistically deprived or the linguistically different must ultimately come from sensitive measures of children's language performance. The measures may then be treated either as indirect measures of the children's knowledge of the language code or of their knowledge of how to use language appropriately.

A large proportion of the work done in the area correlates a social measure, e.g. social class, with syntactic or lexical forms. This is legitimate if often uninformative. Conclusions, however, are often drawn which purport to make statements about the children's knowledge of language. This is unjustifiable if it is assumed that what children perform is all they are capable of performing. What they do perform is what they, with their own set of values and attitudes, judge to be appropriate.

Language programmes for the disadvantaged differ in the assumptions they make about what linguistic knowledge or skills are known by the group they set up as the target or normal group and the one which is said to need additional language training. We consider that it is not surprising that such

programmes have fallen or are falling into disrepute since quite excessive and unjustified hopes have been placed on them as the answer to failure in the school. In addition we are without adequate descriptive tools to describe and hence compare actual language in use.

The emphasis, we feel, should be on both the study of normal language interaction and language programmes for 'normal' teaching programmes. What is needed is more knowledge of the range of skills possessed and practiced by different groups of children in different situations before we can pronounce definitively on whether there is language deficit. However, we would not subscribe to the views of the (over-) committed difference supporters. The values rewarded by schools are the ones rewarded outside in society and in the absence of any revolutionary changes in society, maximum efforts should be made to enable all children to gain equal benefit from the skills that the schools can offer.

Section 2: ATTITUDES

2.1 Introduction

From what has been said about the differing values held by teachers and pupils, it may already be obvious that the attitudes of teachers towards their pupils and vice versa are crucial to understanding the extent to which learning is going on in any particular school. More than any other activity, learning is hard to force: there must be a willingness, if not eagerness on the part of the individual to learn, otherwise no amount of teaching or drills will change his behaviour easily.

2.2 Norms of behaviour

In the UK, regional accents have all become in effect social accents. Regional dialects have been regarded similarly as socially inferior to some form of spoken standard, in England usually a modified Received Pronunciation, in Scotland a Standard Scots (Speitel, in press). It is simplest to use the term dialect to cover all such variations both regional and social and including accent. The fact that the variation may be lexical in the case of some Scots, accentual in the case of others and grammatical in the case of, for example, some West Indians, is irrelevant from the point of view of attitudes towards such variation. The attitudes of teachers and pupils to dialect differences remain important. In effect each group or category may set up norms of

behaviour and speech and recognise these as correct. Problems thus arise in schooling when the norms of teachers do not coincide with the norms of the pupils they teach, resulting in forcible attempts to impose what they consider to be 'good' or 'correct' English.

The pressures to conform or to refuse to conform come from the way that language is so frequently used as a way of demonstrating group membership. To change from a dialect form to speak educated Scots English may be interpreted as the abandonment of the values of and identification with the community one has been brought up in for that of some 'educated' elite. As Labov (1968) points out refusal to speak the language thought to be appropriate for school may appear unconventional to the teacher or the educational administrator but in practice may be following the norms set by a group of peers. A common way of speaking serves to give a group a sense of identity and a means of distinguishing themselves from other groups. Thus any attempt to describe the language of classrooms must take into account not only the range of the different code systems used by or available to the participants but also the social factors which determine the individual's view of what is appropriate language behaviour. Since communicative competence is what we are interested in then it is the social factors affecting language performance that must be examined in most detail.

2.3 Stereotypes

While it is possible to talk of 'norms' or attitudes attributable to groups of people as a whole, it is still necessary to account for the way in which these group norms affect the individual and his choices. Stereotypes are conventional pictures of how groups of people behave which may or may not have some truth in them. We all use stereotypes as a model for predicting the behaviour of others in situations where we have no personal information about them. Thus teachers may have a stereotyped picture of those who are 'too unintelligent to succeed' or pupils of middle class teachers as posh and well groomed agents of authority. Many such stereotypes are triggered off by the use of language whether through accent differences, grammatical or lexical ones. They remain extremely resistant to modification since they frequently affect the way that people perceive. Actions which confirm the stereotypes are noticed while actions contradicting them are frequently not noticed.

Lambert and his associates have produced a mass of experimental work in this area (Lambert 1972) which dominates the field. They have developed the matched guise' technique to assess indirectly a speech community's view

of itself (or other communities). Speakers who can operate in two speech varieties found in a community record a passage in each variety. These samples are then mixed up and presented to a panel of judges drawn from the same community with a request to evaluate the voices on a number of scales, e.g. intelligence, self-confidence, good looks, likeability. It has been found repeatedly that the same speakers have been evaluated more favourably when using one speech variety than when using the other even though the judges were unaware that any speaker had performed in both varieties. In other words the way in which a person evaluates speech is a measure of his stereotype attitude towards the users of that speech.

Labov (1966) has tried to identify the particular features which serve as critical ones for a listener in differentiating a speaker's social status. Whereas in Lambert's experiments the variable that was changed was the speech variety as a whole, in Labov's work in New York he varied particular features in the speech, e.g. presence/absence of voiced/voiceless dental fricatives in words like thing (e.g. thing - ting - ting). He succeeded in identifying a limited number of features which appear crucial for the evaluation of speech in New York.

Williams and Naremore (1969 a, b) and Williams (1970) examined 40 children's speech tapes taken from the Detroit Dialect study. They found firstly that high/low social status was correlated with many of the linguistic indices of the samples, e.g. hesitation, pause phenomena, syntactic elaboration, non-standard characteristics and then that in turn these linguistic features correlated with judgements of status by teachers about the children. Thus they suggest that on hearing a very small portion of a child's speech a stereotype is elicited and this, rather than the detailed listening to the child, is then the basis for further judgements.

2.4 Roles

Often stereotypes are held about the way in which people playing certain roles should behave, e.g. teachers, headmasters, pupils. The assumption is, so to speak, that a group or society is made up of a number of sets of related positions, with each of which is associated a role. In this approach the positions and the roles are independent of any individual who may fill them. The implication of this for attitudes of teachers to pupils and vice versa is of course that they see one another as role occupiers, i.e. as 'teacher' or as 'pupil' and not as individuals. More important from our point of view is that, as is well-known, role-simulating in the classroom seems both possible and efficacious in releasing pupils from the stereotype they cast themselves

and others in. What this indicates in terms of pupils' language ability is that when they are able to break away from their own role bondage (admittedly into another's) they exhibit a far wider range of language ability, both speaking and listening than when they are only 'pupils'. It is always important to distinguish between what children do do and can do.

2.5 Pupil Performance

There is a wide measure of agreement that teacher attitudes are important in influencing the performance of pupils. A much quoted book Pygmalion in the Classroom, Rosenthal and Jakobson (1968) reported that children who had been chosen randomly and who had then been pointed out to their teachers as 'spurters' did better and gained more in IQ than those who were not so chosen. Criticisms of the research have been made by Thorndike (1968) and Snow (1969). Other reports have indicated similar findings even though the proof cannot be considered conclusive. Thus Baker Lunn (1970) suggests that the fall off in reading performance of children of lower social class origin in comparision to that of higher social class children might be partially due to teachers' lower expectancies for them. Burstall (1970) showed that the children who scored low in oral French after two years French teaching were not randomly scattered over the whole sample of schools but concentrated in a small number where teachers expressed negative attitudes.

Rosenthal and Jakobson (1968) defined the self-fulfilling prophecy implied in the work above as '..... how one person's expectation for another person's behaviour can quite unwittingly become a more accurate prediction simply for its having been made.'

Much of this prediction is derived from the stereotypes associated with particular speech varieties which we have already mentioned. Williams (1970) puts it thus '..... in a situation (1) speech types serve as social identifiers. (2) These elicit stereotypes held by ourselves and others (including one of ourselves). (3) We tend to behave in accord with these stereotypes and thus (4) translate our attitudes into a social reality.'

Speech thus can act as an index of the stereotypes that we hold.

The general direction of the hypothesis from the use of speech to judge status, the influence of the judgement on the teachers' behaviour and the subsequent effect on the pupils' performance is borne out elsewhere, in part in Heider, Cazdon and Brown (1968) and in Lawton (1968).

Lambert has addressed himself to the problem of the relationship between speech characteristics and the classroom in two articles. Frender, Brown and Lambert (1970), having controlled for age, verbal and non-verbal intelligence, found that lower class pupils who received better grades had a distinctly different speech style than others with poor grades, and concluded that 'how a child presents himself through his speech ..... may very well influence teachers' opinions and evaluations of him.' In 1971 Lambert reports on an experiment exploring the influence of speech style on the formation of teachers' expectations of pupil behaviour in relation to other cues such as appearance, drawings, composition. The results showed that boys with good voices were always evaluated significantly more favourably than those with poor voices, though other of the variables were also important, e.g. appearance. What is not dealt with in these studies is <u>how</u> teachers' attitudes affect students' performances.

2.6 Experimental Work in the UK

Experimental work in Britain on attitudes to speech has been rather limited. Strongman and Woozley (1967) asked university students from two different regions to evaluate Yorkshire and London varieties. Cheyne (1970) used both matched and unmatched guises of speakers of English and Scottish varieties and had them evaluated by judges in Glasgow and London. He found that the Scots were consistently rated lower on a social status rating. However, since there is little information about the actual dialect used for testing it is somewhat difficult to draw any useful conclusions about attitudes to Scots speech.

Giles (1970, 1971) experimented in a slightly different way by presenting 12-17 year olds from Somerset and South Wales with a wide range of accents and asking them to rate the aesthetic, communicative and status content of the voices that they heard. Unlike the previous studies he specifically asked for attitudes to be expressed about the accents themselves and not the speakers using those accents. Besides generally supporting the conclusions of previous works, his studies suggested that accent loyalty was also an important factor in determining the kind of judgements made. In other words people's judgements tend to differ according to where in the country they come from themselves.

One recent study which has touched on attitudes to language of both teachers and pupils is that of Macaulay and Trevelyan (1973). This is really a pilot study into a number of language related topics within the city of Glasgow. Interviews with a number of teachers are reported and extracts given.

It is difficult to summarise any conclusions but the kind of opinions sought were on whether or not schools should try to change accents, whether children liked the Glasgow accent or not, whether bi-dialectalism was associated with school/community differences, middle class/working class differences or just individual differences, the problem of lack of fluency and confidence in speaking.

2.7 Children's Attitudes

Macaulay and Trevelyan also quote from statements made by 10 and 15 year olds about their attitude to different varieties of speech in Glasgow, but the main emphasis falls not so much on the school as on the likely effects for employment. The researcher who has placed most stress on the importance of pupils' values and attitudes in explaining the differences between performance in school and performance in the home or in the community is Labov. In his study of New York English (1966) he emphasised the importance of the peer group influences on a child's linguistic development, suggesting that from the age of entry into school the influence of the home and local community begins to diminish. Somewhere between the ages of 5 and 12 the influence of the peer group becomes dominant - which suggests how little time the school has for presenting its values as important where they are in conflict with a particular peer group. Both this study and the developments from it (Labov et al 1968) provide well documented evidence for the presence of linguistic norms which are quite contrary to those of the school middle class society. Labov's underlying thesis is that there is no 'linguistic deprivation', no lack of intelligence on the part of speakers of Nonstandard Negro English, no lack of logic in the code of Nonstandard Negro English. He asserts that there is basically one reason why speakers of nonstandard English do not copy the model of language that they are bombarded with both through the media and in years of schooling: not everyone subscribes to the values represented by the essentially middle class environment. The evidence points strongly to the overwhelming influence of the peer group as providing an opposing and stronger set of linguistic (and other) norms. He shows for example that the adult population in Harlem mostly acknowledge the norms of the educated middle class even if they do not themselves use language in the same way. The linguistic influence of the home is thus much weaker than that of the peer group for a number of years. Reading failure in the schools is particularly attributed to this clash between the attitudes of children and the attitudes of the school. Labov's work in this area, as in so many others, is rich in methodological suggestions

and in hard data and is unequalled in its attempts to prove and measure the importance of attitudes and norms in affecting linguistic performance.

There is one example of an attempt to determine whether children in Scotland on entering primary school are able to perceive different accents and whether they use such information to make social judgements. Bratt (1974) found that the responses of 5 year old children to examples of different Scottish dialects differed from the responses of adult judges in that many showed no differences in their responses while others did perceive significant differences on the aesthetic dimension (i.e. whether they sounded nice or not). It would appear as if at the age of 5 children are only just beginning to make social evaluations based on speech variety.

2.8 Conclusion

We have tried to present Attitude as a crucial factor in the school language situation. Two areas seem to us critical ones for research and relevant to the situation in Scotland.

The first concerns norms and correctness. Teachers' attitudes towards and responses to pupils' dialect and substandard forms are largely a matter of hearsay. What seems to us interesting is just how much correction of children's spoken language goes on in classrooms, how systematic it is, and how far it represents norms maintained in the teacher's own speech.

The second concerns the influence on speech of the peer group. This research is much more difficult to organise methodologically than the first but probably more important if our argument as to peer group influence is accepted. Role-playing, role simulation, the use of video could all be used for such an investigation since what is necessary is to make use of the children themselves as informants (not, please note, informers).

Section 3: DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE

3.1 Introduction

Multilingualism is the norm in most societies. Yet at the same time in any stable situation there are strong conventions about which language or which dialect is appropriate to different 'domains' in the society. Thus frequently some particular domain (or area of social life) is associated with a

particular language. This is most obvious in a bilingual situation where, for example, Punjabi or Welsh may be the sole language of the home and English the vehicle used for all contacts outside the home. The situation in a monolingual society (e.g. the one that most Scots live in) may not provide a vivid language contrast between the home and other domains, but the contrast is no less real. Typically, the family is associated with one language variety (dialect) and the school with another. Where these varieties are associated with quite distinct domains of use, a speaker need have no difficulty in keeping the language systems apart.

One problem which arises from the identification of a language variety with a domain is the status of the 'variety' and the way in which it is or is not different from the language used in other situations. Some linguists have attempted to identify a number of separate 'registers' or varieties on the grounds that there are formal differences between them, and these differences are correlated with some significant factor in the social situation (e.g. Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens 1964). Thus in English the 'schoolroom register' is different from the 'legal register' is different from the 'scientific register' and so on. The effect of this approach is to represent the varieties as different linguistic codes in terms of grammar etc.

A more fruitful approach to register differences is to regard them as being different uses of the same code. It is our view that English has a single common code and that different groups of people may use that code differentially for different purposes, that is language differs functionally as well as formally. Thus the same language may be used to convey information in some situations or by some people whereas in other situations its main function is to serve as a means of identifying someone with his reference group, e.g. family or peer group. Examples are difficult to provide here because children's peer group usage changes so quickly. Perhaps this school example will make the point. The teacher passes a pupil in the playground and says 'How are you?' which demands the response 'How are you?' in the teacher's peer group; but the pupil replies: 'Not very well today.' Such functional differences may well be much more widespread, as, e.g. Bernstein has suggested in his later work, and may lead to lack of comprehension or just general muddle far more readily than differences in grammar, phonology or vocabulary.

3.2 The Home

Every educational report in recent years had underlined the importance of the home: 'one of the strongest threads running through much educational research is the general agreement on the important role played by the home in

affecting progress and adjustment at school' (Newson, Newson and Barnes in Butcher and Port 1973). This being so it is remarkable how little is known about the use of language in the home in a monolingual situation; it is assumed that in bilingual societies the mother tongue only is used at home - though the extent of bilingual switching at home is not well known.

The fact is that it is very difficult to investigate the language of the home. The home is no more uniform than the more professional domains, e.g. the church, medicine or the school are.

Furthermore the belief in the potency of the home influence is already in question in view of evidence such as Labov's (1966 and see above) as to the superior influence of the peer group over all other influences. Hence, of course, the increasing interest in the home at the pre-school stage.

Bernstein and his fellow-workers have reported on the influence in the home of the mother on the pre-school child. Robinson and Rackstraw (1967) for example contrasted the way that middle or working class mothers of five year old children said they would answer their children's questions and reported that their findings bear out the restricted/elaborated linguistic code hypothesis. The middle class mothers, it was concluded, were more likely to answer the question: to give more information and to give more accurate information than the working class mothers. They were more likely to use compound arguments and analogies, and to give a greater variety of causal and purposive answers. Similarly Bernstein and Henderson (1969) report their findings that in terms of everyday tasks middle class mothers 'socialise' their young children in more overtly verbal ways than do working class mothers. It is concluded that as a consequence the working class child learns skills in terms only of an understanding of the operations they entail, while the middle class child learns both the operations and the principles on which they are based. Bernstein is at pains to point out that his researches, especially these more recent ones on child-socialisation, are concerned with kinds of home and types of family and not with such crude indices as social class; though, of course, his findings do correlate with social class. Cook Gumperz (1973) has looked interestingly and closely at the home from this point of view and examined in some detail how young children are socialised by their mothers and reports that there are class differences between mothers' methods of social control in general and also between specifically verbal means.

Bernstein and his colleagues have posited two types of families, positional and person-oriented. The way each type trains its children in

interpersonal behaviour is different and it leads to differences in their language behaviour and communication. Positional families (in practice mainly working class) train their children to respond to fixed status features (such as father, mother, age or sex of child) of the speaker or listener. In person-oriented families (equated to the middle class) the child learns to respond to the unique features of the speaker or listener. He is trained to react to the person as an individual rather than to his formal status. Person-oriented families use more verbal explanations and allow the child more opportunities to express himself in words than do positional families.

Other researchers have worked on the theoretical basis of Bernstein's ideas about the influence of the home on the language of children and their conclusions have sometimes been contradictory: Hawkins (1969) presented 5 year old middle class and working class children with pictures and asked them to tell a story. Hawkins concluded that the working class child's use of language is context bound since the pictures would be needed to make full sense of the story while the middle class child's story could be understood free of the context of the pictures. The working class child's language is full of implicit meanings while the middle class child makes verbally explicit his thinking about the pictures. The middle class child's use of the noun (boy, ball) in preference to the pronoun (he, it) suggests that there are possibilities of expanding his structures through modification.

American Reports by Slobin (1968), Baldwin and Frank (1969), Phillips (1970) and Snow (1971) all point to a simplifying process by mothers on their normal language use when talking to young children. Mothers gradually make their speech less simple as the child's speech becomes more complex. As Cazden (1972) points out few people have actually collected data on the infant's language environment. Friedlander (1970) has done so, analysing the source of all utterances in the home directed towards the child. Brandis and Henderson (1970) have stressed the importance of the mother's attitude variable as against the social class variable in terms of the mother's influence on the child's language proficiency. Wells' (1974) account of his research is methodologically interesting inasmuch as it provides a fine sampling technique of investigating a whole range of children's language use in the home. What inevitably emerges from these studies (as from very many others in the area of language acquisition tangential to this Report) is the obvious importance of the mother-child relationship in the development of the child's language. This may be because of what Friedlander calls the most intimate one-to-one encounters between parent and child, such as the bath, dressing and feeding, (1970).

However, this relationship and the dominance of the home begin to diminish as soon as the child starts school. It is not, however, the school influence which takes the place of the home: it is the peer group.

3.3 Peer Group

The rich verbal culture of the playground is revealed by Opie and Opie (1959) who report on the verbal art of children playing with words and rhymes. These rhymes are made up of new sequences, the components of which are selected from existing bits. Bernstein (1960) suggests that children's speech is essentially a group possession and use of it forges a social tie between the child and his peer group. The child is then made free to use the daring or savage terms of this playground language since he is using it as a member of the group and is not held responsible as an individual. The Opies (op cit) conclude that in spite of the onslaught of mass media such as television and film 'the oral lore of children remains traditional in form and content.' Creber (1972) points to the need for teachers to accept playground English since it 'is the language the children encounter in their home or street.' Labov collected speech samples from street gangs in Harlem including those of boys 8/9 years old. His main subjects, however, were older boys. Labov and his colleagues compared the language behaviour of Negro boys belonging to peer groups with that of isolated individuals who do not belong to any group (termed 'lames' by Labov) and with that of white boys of similar age and background. The interviews were recorded in situations which, unlike the home and the school, were free from the domination of adults.

To belong to a peer group means conforming to its rules and set of values and attitudes towards things like fighting, working, drugs, violence, family etc. which may be totally different from those of the school. What is meant by 'good' and 'bad' values in a peer group is ingrained in its members and to understand any verbal interaction, reference must be made to these values.

The dominant family structure pattern in the peer group studied was lack of a father as head of family. The absence of male authority may or may not be part of the reason for the power exerted by the peer group over other obligations

Labov refers to the wide variety of verbal skills in the NNE (Negro

Nonstandard English) community which seems to have developed away from the school and be unknown to teachers. As with other values, the standards by which a person is judged as a good and skillful speaker are not the same as those which govern elsewhere and developing a high skill in the vernacular is irrelevant to a boy's performance at school. Success in this street community is not connected with school learning. This may be partly a reason for failure to learn to read and speak in standard English, since good street speakers are not necessarily good speakers at school.

Labov states that in each group there are vocabularies and ways of talking which are specific to that group and which help to identify a particular speaker as belonging to a particular group. But the 'focal concerns' of all groups are similar - such as conversational topic and activity revolving around gang fights, the sentiment of 'all for one and one for all' and 'smarts' - the use of language and mental agility to excel over and manipulate others. In a way similar to the children from whom the Opies collected their data, Labov's subjects possess a rich, elaborate and highly-developed oral culture exemplified, e.g. by 'toasts' - long oral epic poems unknown in white society and 'soundings' - ritual insults, through which members display their skill and inventiveness.

The study of the language of the lames highlighted the difference of their language from the language of peer group members. Because they have been kept apart from participating in the street culture by parents or other elders, they accept certain values which peer group members reject. They are more open to adult influence and respond more favourably to school teaching or improvement programmes. Their grammar deviates from NNE grammar at various points and is closer to that of the white working-class boys studied in the project. Labov also reports that they resemble older people in that they, like older people, are abandoning certain NNE characteristics, with shifting towards SE (Standard English) patterns. They also show a greater awareness of the 'wrong' NNE forms judged according to SE norms. This was revealed in what are called 'classroom correction' tests, where pupils are asked to correct sentences written in NNE.

The peer group's hold on members relaxes with age. Throughout adolescence, learning of middle class norms through exposure to formal education goes on together with the exposure to and the acquisition of SE forms. The classroom correction tests show a general rise in score with the increasing age of the students taking them. While being a fully

committed member of a group, however, there is resistance to school and standards other than those that govern their sub-culture. Toughness and masculinity are associated with their vernacular and thus resistance to SE is greater in boys than in girls, and girls show better reading and general educational achievement than boys. This characteristic is also noted by others. Bernstein speaks of a marked difference between boys and girls in large working class positional families. Girls are not tied to the 'activity-oriented, group-dominated peer group structure of the boys' and their language use is more individualised and oriented towards roles they play in the family, such as mothering or intervening between parents and siblings. The work on social relations in school referred to in Section 4 (below) is relevant here particularly Hargreaves (1967) and Nash (1973). Hargreaves concluded that while school values are essentially middle class, two pupil subcultures differed in their acceptance/rejection of these values. Nash reports similar results.

3.4 Bilingualism

Little need be said in this Report on bilingualism but we do wish to point out that the consistent findings that used to be quoted (e.g. Saer 1923, Jones and Stewart 1951, Lewis 1959) on the superiority in verbal intelligence of monolinguals over bilinguals are now attributed to the unsatisfactory nature of the samples used for these researches, the fact that the bilingual samples belonged typically to socially and/or economically disadvantaged groups or to groups (e.g. recent immigrants) existing in socially and politically unstable situations. As far as can be seen now, stable bilinguals who are non disadvantaged belong to the same population in terms of IQ tests as monolinguals.

Peal and Lambert (1962), having reviewed the prior research, carried out an experiment which tried to contain all the errors that they attributed to earlier research. They tested monolingual and bilingual 10 year old pupils in a Montreal school, all being from comparable socio-economic and home backgrounds. Their conclusions were that (1) bilinguals were better than monolinguals in verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests; (2) bilinguals had a greater flexibility of mind and superior concept formation; (3) bilinguals were further ahead in school.

It is to be expected that a bilingual will tend to use one language rather than the other in specific domains. One piece of research on this aspect of bilingualism is reported by Fishman et al (1968), in a series of

papers entitled Bilingualism in the Barrio. One report is relevant to us as the subjects were 34 schoolchildren in a Puerto Rican neighbourhood in Jersey City, USA, aged between 6 and 12. The purpose of the research was to measure the degree of bilingualism, i.e. proficiency in the 2 languages and the relative use of each language in different domains such as school, home, church, etc. The assumption was that individuals are more proficient and likely to converse in one language than another depending on the contexts they find themselves in. The children were interviewed separately and each interview was tape recorded. Four domains were selected - family, neighbourhood, religion and education - and the children were asked (1) to what extent they would use Spanish and English with bilingual interlocutors in each of the settings; (2) to name first in Spanish and then in English within 45-second periods as many objects as they could think of connected with the kitchen, church, school and neighbourhood, these being taken as representative of the four domains. In the first test, the children reported using more Spanish in the home and neighbourhood than in the contexts of religion and education. The author concludes that the scores from the second test agreed in general with this result, the greatest difference in scores between Spanish and English words being in the domain of education and the least in that of family.

The implication of such 'switching' among bilinguals is, of course, that for them domains have a kind of reality and switching helps to establish (for them and for the analyst) the boundaries between one domain and another. There is, indeed, a pecking order between statuses so that a 'headmaster' may be thought of as superior to, say, an uncle. If an African child whose uncle is also his headmaster switches from the home language to English when addressing the uncle/headmaster, then that is thought reasonable evidence for arguing that the school and the home are viewed by such a child as belonging to different domains.

3.5 Bidialectalism

In some areas of Scotland, mostly parts of the Hebrides, children demonstrate the vividness of language switching between the domains of home and school inasmuch as they are bilingual in English and Gaelic. But most Scottish children are not bilingual in this sense. They do, however, still exhibit similar switching between domains though in a less dramatic way, viz. between one dialect of English and another. Of course there are some homes (usually middle class ones) in which this particular switching, as between the home and the school, may not take place, simply because for these children the language of these domains does not vary. It may indeed be that

one effect of education is to make the child forget his home dialect. Bilingualism may survive education; bidialectalism may not. Of course most bidialectals including the educated ones, do retain their capacity to switch for certain domains.

Studies of bidialectalism commonly report on the adverse effects of being bidialectal. These adverse effects may arise from mistaken ambiguity (e.g. Creber 1972) or from hurtful attitudes from the socially superior group to the others' language (e.g. Baratz 1969). Labov demonstrates in his work on NNE the logical equivalence of NNE and Standard English. At the same time the two dialects are kept separate, so much so that an expression in SE cannot be repeated word for word by a speaker of NNE (Labov 1968). Labov's conclusion is that NNE interferes with written SE patterns 50% of the time, even though in oral testing situations the use of SE is favoured. (Notice the effect of the oral testing situation and therefore the argument in favour of gathering data in as naturalistic a situation as possible.) Labov also reports that his classroom correction tests were valuable as a diagnostic tool in investigating how much interference is caused by dialect in the writing of SE. If a pupil does not recognise an error (according to SE rules) he will not hesitate to write it.

We recommend that the crucial area in which to develop research in the field of Domains of Language Use is the peer group. In view of Labov's highly suggestive language data or Hargreave's and Nash's more sociological conclusions we maintain that this is a very important area to develop research work in in Scotland. We know a good deal about classroom language and while we know little about the language of the home it seems as if we know almost nothing about peer group language and, more important, peer group attitudes to language and maintenance/shift of language Further, it looks from the evidence as though in the top primary - early secondary years, the influence of the peer group - on language as on other values - is paramount.

Section 4: CLASSROOMS

The observation of school and classroom behaviour covers such a wide range of purposes and techniques that the results cannot easily be summarised. Perhaps the work can be grouped into three main categories on the basis of the main topics and interests of the researchers.

4.1 Social Relations in Schools

In Britain, there have recently been a number of case studies of single schools. While differing to some extent in their aims and methods they have all been concerned with the analysis of social relationships amongst small groups within schools, and their effect on the schooling process. Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), Ford (1969) and King (1969) have all made studies of schools in England. Hargreaves (1967) provides a good example of the kind of ethnographic description arising from this work. He spent a year as a participant observer in a secondary modern school and used a variety of methods of data collection - observation, informal chats, interviews, questionnaires, orientation tests, sociometric tests, and the analysis of school records. He gives a valuable description of the development of pupil subcultures emerging over time as a result of the interplay between the formal structure, e.g. class organisation and the informal structure, e.g. pupil interaction and friendship patterns. The norms and values through which the school was organised were essentially middle class and it was shown clearly how two pupil subcultures differed in their acceptance/rejection of these values. Nash (1973) reports the result of similar work in Scotland observing primary schools and the initial changeover to secondary school. He uses the same range of techniques and the theme that runs through his report is that teachers' perceptions of their pupils are closely correlated with the children's ability and behaviour. He showed that children were aware of how they are seen by their teachers even though classes were not streamed. He showed that the teachers normally saw their pupils in terms of their personality rather than their academic ability.

The interest of this work is twofold: firstly in its exploration of the clash of values (see below) within the school which may lead to pupils refusing to adopt the school norms and to use language in the way that teachers expect and secondly in its observations on actual classroom interaction and language use which are the first steps to an understanding of how teacher attitudes and judgements actually affect the performance of their pupils. It must be pointed out that these observations are not systematic in the sense of trying to attribute all verbal and other interchanges to a particular system of classification. They, like Jackson (1968), are a first attempt in Britain to bring a more anthropological approach to the school.

4.2 Interaction Analysis

4.2.1 Purposes

32 Unlike the previous approach, those who pursue what we may

group together as Interaction Analysis are primarily concerned with trying to produce theoretical schemes for systematically analysing the verbal interaction between teachers and pupils. Interest in such work started in the USA in the 1940's and burgeoned rapidly during the 1960's. There appear to be four main purposes (1) to describe current classroom practice; (2) to train teachers; (3) to monitor instructional systems; (4) to investigate relationships between classroom activities and student growth. The actual uses to which such descriptive systems have been put overlap but it can be seen that the majority are concerned with providing a vocabulary and a measuring instrument which can be used to describe to teachers or would-be teachers either what should be going on in the classroom or what they themselves are doing and consequently how they may improve their techniques.

The number of observational systems which have been set up are enormous; an anthology of 92 systems is to be found in Simon and Boyer (1967, 1970)[1].

Perhaps the underlying aim of much of the work in the area has been how to measure the 'classroom climate' and compare this with an ideal climate which is currently thought to be educationally sound. Thus educational ideology currently holds that teachers should not emphasise their authority over their pupils by imposing their opinions, but should consider their role as one of providing the context in which children can learn themselves. Consequently many observational systems have been concerned with measuring what Flanders (see below) calls the ratio between the teachers' 'indirect and direct influence' as seen in the verbal interchanges in the classroom. From a similar ideological background come the enquiries into the types of questions used by teachers or the relative amount of time in which teachers and pupils are speaking.

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1 See also: Amidon and Hough (1967), Sinclair et al (1972), Weick (1968), Biddle (1967), Meux (1967), Kliebard (1966), Medley and Mitzer (1963) and Withall (1962).

4.2.2 Flanders' Analysis

A brief description of the scheme set up by Flanders (1960, 1970) will give some idea of both the aims and the problems associated with observing instruments of this kind. 46 hours classroom work in Mathematics and Social Studies was studied. Observers were trained to code verbal utterances at 3 second intervals according to a 10 item classification scheme[1]. The ratio of the number of tallies in categories 1-3 (Indirect Influence) to the number of categories 5-10 (Direct Influence) gave a measure of the teachers' kind of influence (I/D ratio), which could be used either to compare one teacher with another or the same teacher in different situations. He found that the I/D ratio varied according to the following factors: (1) subject matter being taught; (2) age and maturity of students; (3) the teachers' preferred style of teaching and (4) the nature of the learning activities. He went on to correlate the I/D ratios with student attitudes and achievement. His results showed that student achievement is higher in the classes of teachers who used more indirect influence and that teachers who use more direct influence do not vary their behaviour in different situations as much as the 'indirect' teachers.

There are a number of points which should be noted about a Flanders type analysis:

1. The sampling of interaction is done on a time basis and not on the basis of any structural units of classroom discourse.

2. The aim is to measure what might be called the 'classroom climate' (dominative/integrative, teacher-centred/learner-centred, direct/indirect influence etc.)

1.

Teacher talk	Indirect Influence	1. accepts feelings 2. praises or encourages 3. accepts or uses ideas of students 4. asks questions
	Direct Influence	5. lecturing 6. giving directions 7. criticising or justifying authority
Student talk		8. student talk - response 9. student talk - initiation 10. silence or confusion

3. Language is the measure used, in part because it is the aspect of the lesson that is easiest to record and to separate from other aspects of the total communication or interaction going on.

4. Language is not in itself of interest to the researchers and hence they tend to ignore the problems of assigning structure to the discourse and of relating the linguistic forms occurring to the meaning attributed to the interaction by both participants and observer. How pupils understand what is meant from the linguistic forms used is not discussed.

4.2.3 Other American Studies

Some observation systems have concentrated on particular aspects of classroom behaviour, for example the logical operations performed by teachers and pupils (Smith et al 1967, Smith and Meux 1964) or modes of thinking (Taba, Levine and Elzey 1964). Yet others have had a purely descriptive bias, sometimes even attempting to describe quantitatively as much as possible of what goes on in the classroom (Cornell et al 1952, Medley and Mitzel 1958a, 1958b, 1959). Such blunderbus instruments are unlikely to be of much use in providing insights either into what is going on in the classroom generally or in the area of verbal interaction in particular. Survey instruments generally are of most use only when the items to be examined have been carefully chosen and their meaning or significance known.

One further American study is worth mentioning. Bellack et al (1966) is the first attempt to try to provide a hierarchichal structure of the lesson in terms of such units as pedagogical moves, teaching cycles, and categories of meaning. Their approach is to treat the teaching situation as a 'game' involving a number of players who can respond with a limited number of moves. Consequently the discourse of the classroom is seen as a combination of allowable moves. These pedagogical moves are defined by their function in the total discourse and are called structuring, soliciting, responding, and reacting. Utterances also convey meaning within the discourse and hence

are analysed in terms of the kinds of meaning communicated.

4.2.4 Speech Functions

Bellack's work was done without the advantage of the recent interest in language functions. Hymes (1962) took up Jakobson (1960) and his analysis of the 'functions of language' and further developed it. They and many others since, were concerned in providing a typology of the purposes for which language was customarily used in differing situations and in differing societies. They used categories such as expressive, directive, contact, metalinguistic, contextual. Halliday (1969) uses a different set of categories (which do not exactly correspond to the Hymes-Jakobson ones) to describe the stages through which children pass in their use of language, e.g. instrumental, regulating, interactional, personal. This last typology has proved extremely stimulating to teachers and educationists.

Nevertheless it, and the other speech function typologies remain just that - typologies. As with all typologies in science, they can become more and more differentiated in a (false) hope of making them more precise. In other words a typology will never fit the real world exactly. They can be profitably used to bring order into an undifferentiated mass and they can draw our attention to opposing tendencies.

4.2.5 Some British Studies

While the speech function typologies of Hymes, Halliday and others have not been used as a means of classifying successive utterances or parts in a discourse into mutually exclusive categories, they have been used as either direct or indirect models for looking at classroom lessons and trying to analyse in what ways teachers and pupils are using language. Barnes, Britton and Rosen (1971), C. and H. Rosen (1973), Creber (1972), Barnes (1973) all subject the lesson to concentrated scrutiny in an attempt to get behind the form of the lesson to describe what is the function of parts of the interaction, e.g. teachers' questions. It would be fair to say that most of this work is aimed at descriptions of the 'classroom climate' but in a quite different way from Flanders and the other interactionists

described above. Barnes' analysis, for example, deals with the analysis of: the teachers' questions into factual, closed/open reasoning, open and social ones; pupils' behaviour in terms of initiation of exchanges, types of response, understanding etc.; the language of instruction in terms of the presence or absence of vocabulary and grammatical differences in differing subjects; the presence of examples of language outside the range of the children and so on. The method of most of this work can be said to be insightful observation and its aim that of drawing teachers' attention to the often unconsidered results of the way that they operate verbally in the classroom.

4.2.6 Speech Acts

Interest in speech functions arises out of awareness that language is being used differently in different contexts and that these differences cannot be gauged directly from the linguistic forms present. A different kind of approach to the same problem derives from the interest of philosophers and theoretical linguists and sociolinguists in notions of 'speech acts'. Commands and refusals, for example, are acts or actions, they are things that are done; declarations, interrogatives, imperatives, on the other hand, are linguistic categories, they are things that are said. Discourse analysis is thus concerned with analysing the rules which show how things are done with words and how one interprets these utterances as actions: relating what is said to what is done and vice-versa. The theory of discourse analysis is in its infancy. The little work that has been done in this area derives mostly from studies carried out by sociologists (particularly of the ethnomethodological brand) perhaps because sociological, non-linguistic categories such as roles, rights and obligations have to be taken into account. (Cicourel 1968, Turner 1974, Labov 1970).

This work is clearly related to the more impressionistic analysis of Barnes and others but differs in its emphasis on laying bare the rules governing the relationship between linguistic items and their interpretation as acts or actions. Children both need to and do acquire quite rapidly a set of such rules to enable them to respond appropriately to the

teacher in front of them but little or nothing is known of this process. Both the developmental aspect and the systematic study and description of the rules underlying the interpretation of linguistic items merit far more work. The total absence of descriptions, of the role of intonation and other paralinguistic features in defining speech acts is particularly noticeable and regrettable.

4.2.7 Overall Structure of Discourse

There is one further aspect of discourse analysis which should be mentioned. It is not enough to treat particular speech acts in isolation. That is, to understand what is going on in the classroom it is insufficient to describe the general rules which hold if an utterance is to be heard as, for example, a valid command. Classroom language is not made up of isolated utterances but can be considered to be structured discourse thus providing the context in which speech acts are to be analysed.

Sinclair et al (1972) have carried out a 3-year project aimed primarily at establishing what this larger structure of the classroom is and how it relates to the smallest meaningful unit, the speech act. They worked from tape recorded lessons and set up a hierarchy of discourse units (defined linguistically not pedagogically). The highest was the lesson, which comprised a number of transactions, in turn comprising exchanges. These exchanges consisted of moves which were made up of a number of (speech) acts. With this hierarchy they analysed a number of class periods and came out with statements on the co-occurrence rules that operate with some of the types of units. What they have tried to provide is a tentative way of describing the customary structure of verbal interaction between pupils and teachers. Crudely speaking, each of the units and their realisations is defined in terms of how they can or cannot combine together to form a larger unit and how they are made up of different kinds of smaller units. The work is interesting but should be considered tentative rather than definitive, both in terms of its approach to discourse (one only of many) and in terms of its results.

38 It is safe to say that the study of classroom discourse has barely begun and it is an area in which research in Scotland

could make a substantial contribution.

Section 5: TEACHING MATERIALS

Materials used for Spoken Language instruction in the Primary School are of two kinds: they are either to teach a skill or to remedy a fault. Since both have as an aim a notional language proficiency both are essentially the same thing.

5.1 Why teach Spoken Language?

It follows that it is not very easy to distinguish between language programmes devised to remedy/compensate for disadvantage among some children and those of the more straightforward syllabus type designed to advance all children in a particular skill. Spoken Language is a special case in that there is no consensus as to (a) what is the required skill and (b) whether children entering school already possess it. (Reading, on the other hand, is very different.)

We may ask whether there should be any general Spoken Language programme designed for all children. It is possible to find a few examples of special group programmes (and we are not taking into account programmes designed for children with physical defects, e.g. stammers), e.g. the Gahagans' Talk Reform (1970). This is an attempt by careful planning and daily practice to make more use of the classroom situation to exercise Spoken Language. It neither attempts the Bereiter-Engelmann pattern practice nor the other Head Start method of enriching experience. It simply brings in more daily use of the Spoken Language. As far as the results can be interpreted they suggest that the scheme works.

5.2 'Normal' Syllabuses

We might have discussed the Gahagans' work under our summary of language programmes for the Disadvantaged, but it seems a useful link with 'normal' programmes. Frequently, normal syllabuses are often less explicit models of what goes on overtly in disadvantaged syllabuses. The Birmingham Concept 7 - 9 (Schools Council 1974) is an interesting example of a programme that has itself made just that transition. It was designed as a Language Deprivation programme (for W. Indian dialect speakers) but has come to be valued and used for 'normal' children. The only difference in other words between W. Indian children and 'normals' is one of speed in getting through the programme.

5.3 Language Variety

In the same spirit it could be maintained that what disadvantaged children lack is control of/knowledge of/skill in language variation. But it is also argued (see Doughty, Pearse and Thornton, 1971) that this skill is exactly what 'normal' children also need. While there seem to be no programmes designed specially for the Primary School as the Language in Use (Doughty, Pearce and Thornton, 1971) materials have been for the Secondary School, there are suggestions (e.g. Ashworth 1973) that such materials could be of value in the Primary School.

5.4 Listening Tests

The Birmingham Oracy Project (Wilkinson, Stratton and Dudley 1974) on the other hand, was a research programme which had designated aims and was not, like Language in Use, a collection of ideas. The aim of the project was to investigate communication skills in speech and eventually concentrated on listening comprehension. The authors speak of 'the developing of an awareness of the features and functions of spoken language', and 'see the test materials as exemplifying features and functions of the spoken language which should be part of the knowledge of every teacher or teacher-in-training. The role of the (test) questions is then as pointers to aspects of language.' The authors maintain then the most important outcome of their research lies in the backwash effect of their tests rather than in the tests themselves. This is in line with the (official) Schools Council Foreword to the Report which is at pains to play down the test origin and rationale of the Project. From our point of view this is a pity. The fact is that, as the authors probably rightly point out, 'of their kind the tests would seem to be unique in the English-speaking world.' We consider the construction of such tests a very necessary contribution to the encouragement of the spoken language in schools. In themselves they do not contribute to teaching materials and what is now necessary is the development of materials for programmes in spoken language which will certainly benefit from the findings and use of these tests.

5.5 Reading

This is no place to discuss reading programmes, but it is relevant to note that the two best known programmes of recent years, ita and Breakthrough to Literacy (Mackay et al 1970), have both made deliberate attempts to take certain aspects of the spoken language into account, ita the sound-symbol relation and Breakthrough the wholistic nature of the sentence/utterance/phrase. There are arguments that reading materials do not go far enough to relate the syntax of the child's speech to the syntax of his early readers. Reid (1972)

argues that the syntax of the written sentence in beginning readers needs to be closer to the common pattern of spoken syntax so that the child will be helped to move from one language mode to another. It is interesting that Shields and Steiner (1973) report a likely relation between working class children's utterance length (at age 3-5) and their slowness in acquiring literacy. Once again there is the classical correlation problem since while spoken language and reading may be related it is by no means clear that they are so in this experiment. More important is the argument about the crucial difference which persists through school between the functions served by speech and by writing. It may be that a deliberate manipulation of spoken language is needed in order to prepare children for the special functions served by writing.

Such materials as those in the Language in Use series are essentially examples of different kinds of texts. The choice of such texts is usually based on some kind of content analysis (i.e. what the text is about). Thus the onus is on the teacher who makes use of these materials to explain to his pupils why linguistically they are different. As far as we can see no help is given to the teacher to do this. Here then, in these Language in Use materials we have an idea which is obviously fruitful for teacher training but not very far developed for the classroom itself.

5.6 Many suggestions

It looks suspiciously as if we are left with spoken language materials for the Primary school at an inchoate stage - many suggestions, few materials. Some suggestions even undermine the need for materials since their main point is that it is incumbent on the teacher and essential in the classroom to draw out spoken language spontaneously. Hence comes their opposition to the Peabody Language Development Kit or similar programmes, an attitude understandable in the normal classroom but much less so in the special case of a disadvantaged class. While writers such as Wilkinson (1971) and Ashworth (1973) suggest the working out of an idea like Halliday's function scheme sketched in Relevant Models of Language (Halliday 1969), these are more properly suggestions for informing teachers in training with language descriptions rather than suggestions for the content of classroom materials. It may be that materials writers could make use of such suggestions as Halliday's (which has been widely quoted) as a way of arranging a language programme, but they would still be faced with the task of relating language forms in their programme to the various functions they regard as goals. Perhaps the most fruitful use of such suggestions remains at the suggestion stage, as a means of generating ideas in the teacher's mind.

Whatever may be said officially about the need for developing and

teaching the spoken language in the primary school, it looks to us as though in practice speech is regarded as something that develops in 'normal' children without intervention. Hence the lack of speech programmes. Further, as we noted above, it is considered that speech can only develop 'normally' in the classroom by allowing it to happen spontaneously. We would expect all the effort therefore to be on creating and developing opportunities and situations in which speech can take place. What spoken language programmes there are for normal children are therefore of the language variety kind, rather like Language in Use (see above). The Oracy tests present a variety of demands in their assumed syllabus, but are not in themselves materials. The Gahagans' Talk Reform (Gahagan and Gahagan 1970) comes nearest to a syllabus but is intended for disadvantaged children. The only spoken language syllabus for 'normal' children we have found is 'Teach Them to Speak'.

Shiach's language development programme, containing 200 detailed lessons, 'Teach Them to Speak' (Shiach 1972) is intended to help 'teachers develop the oral language skills of their pupils.' This is rarely done, he says and therefore his book is intended as a combination 'towards filling this glaring gap (not just at primary level) in what is taught and learned in our schools.' Shiach assumes his programme will be equally suitable for a very wide range of children, viz:

'1. the normal class of first year and second year infants;
2. some groups of slower learning children ...
3. some groups ..... educationally subnormal;
4. some groups ..... severely subnormal;
5. partially hearing children;
6. immigrant children;
7. preschool playgroups and nurseries.'

It seems unlikely that any one programme would be equally suitable for so many populations. What is disappointing about Shiach's book is that he follows his sensible introductory rationale with detailed lesson plans which seem more suited to developing written language than spoken language. He does emphasise oral grammar work but the content of that work seems unnecessarily sentence bound (i.e. by written language forms).

From the point of view of 'the best practice' the Rosens report that the primary school classroom today in England is a place where a great deal of talk of all kinds goes on (Rosen and Rosen 1973). Mrs. Rosen indicates also the importance of the connection between such free talk and the process of beginning to read: 'the introductory stages are supported by talk.' In similar vein the Breakthrough team stress the importance of talk in assisting with reading, 'reading matter for children should, from the beginning, be linked

to their own spoken language.' Certainly such a wholistic approach makes a great deal of sense as Tough (1973a) points out, but we are left wondering whether talk is just ordinary talk since it is clear that the best practice referred to by the Rosens does not take place in all classrooms. What seems necessary is detailed assistance with the kind of talk that is useful both for itself, for help with related activities like reading and for the development of the child's whole personality. (As is well known the DES Committee under Sir Alan Bullock are at present completing their report on all aspects of the use of English including reading, writing and speech.)

5.7 Recommendation

Our recommendation for research in this area is not as direct as in some of the earlier section in this Report. Materials need to be firmly linked to some research area in Attitudes, Domains or Classroom Interaction. Indeed the production of materials in one of these research areas would be of immediate practical benefit since it would shape the research in an applied way. Of the topics we have touched on under Materials the Oracy research seems of most interest. While it was not in itself strictly a Materials project, it did produce measures which are very necessary in indicating areas and setting goals for syllabus construction. In particular these tests (still unpublished) seem from their preliminary description (Wilkinson et al 1974) to make a start towards charting that unknown area of children's reception of the paralinguistic cues available in discourse (e.g. intonation).

5.8 Coda : Vocabulary

We have realised, quite late, that there is a remarkable gap in the literature. It is not that we have missed it but that it is just not there. What is missing is vocabulary. It is as if researchers some 10 years ago were so convinced by the argument that language is not only vocabulary - and so guilty that they appeared to have confused the two - that all work on children's vocabulary just came to a complete halt. Bruner (in press) makes much the same point about the disappearance of vocabulary in psychological research. A useful summary of basic word lists was provided by Burroughs (1957) but only a year later Brown (1958) was sounding the death knell of vocabulary investigations: ... ..'the sequence in which words are acquired is not determined by the cognitive preferences of children so much as by the naming practices of adults.' It seems about time that this total embargo on vocabulary studies was lifted.

Section 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this report we have attempted to draw together what we consider to be the main trends in research into Spoken Language insofar as it impinges on the Primary School. Little work has been done on spoken language in the primary school itself and we have therefore used our own judgement in deciding which work in other areas is particularly relevant, by, e.g. including the research into classroom interaction in the Secondary School while omitting the substantial work on language acquisition in the early years of childhood.

In making recommendations for future research it is as well that the most important of our assumptions should be made explicit. They should be recognised as being no more than personal prejudices (this constituting no grounds for either recommending or rejecting them) referring essentially to techniques of study and data collection. The most important of them are:

6.1 Replication of Studies

Research follows intellectual fashions and frequently results in massive replication of findings. Bernstein's early work and findings on the relationship between social class and linguistic forms used by children in (often) formal contexts has been repeated too many times to mention. Few replications have brought anything more than confirmation, with no further insights or explanations. Bernstein himself in the meantime has gone on to reformulate the whole hypothesis in terms of family types and sociolinguistic codes. Similarly the attempt to provide a coding scheme for sampling classroom interaction on a time basis has been repeated a myriad of times without any theoretical reformulation, the result being rather profitless.

Having said that, we must point out that many ideas currently being taken over derive from 'single-shot' research which has not been replicated in other situations and proved valid. Examples of this kind that we have discussed are Sinclair et al's classroom discourse and Labov's peer group work. In these instances what are needed are repeated studies in different situations.

Our view is, therefore, that the first consideration in mounting a research project should not necessarily be originality and uniqueness. Of equal importance is adequate (but not excessive) replication.

6.2 Case Studies: Surveys

It is necessary to consider two different strategies for tackling

research in this area. Which is more suitable - case studies or surveys? On the one hand highly detailed analyses of limited situations with homogeneous groups may not yield results which can be generalised. On the other hand large scale investigations are liable to skate over individual or group differences and over contexts. Thus 'grand counts of linguistic features used by 5-year olds across a range of contexts each explicitly intended to encourage rather different speech styles .... can obscure social class differences within contexts.' (Robinson 1972). We agree with the conclusions that Robinson draws as to the advantages of case studies, namely that it seems safer to get to close grips with a strictly delimited problem using a homogeneous group of subjects and then collate both the problems and the ideas these suggest. We acknowledge that, if there are general laws governing the use of spoken language, then they will be manifested as much with a few subjects as with many. We feel that there are dangers in setting up a very large scale research project in this field at the present stage when knowledge is limited. A conservative piece-meal strategy is more likely to provide cumulative knowledge and less likely to result in disillusion at the limited educational pay-off which will follow. The survey can come into its own at a second stage when it is wished to examine more widely throughout Scotland (or a part of it) the extent of a behaviour, attitude or problem.

6.3 Naturalistic Observation: Experimentation

Related to our preference for the case study approach initially is another preference for naturalistic observation where possible. Psychologists and social psychologists have traditionally operated experimentally by trying to limit the variables that they need to take into account. This can only be done by removing their subjects from their normal environment and putting them in a more or less laboratory setting. As our earlier discussion showed there are differences between what people can say and what they do say in particular contexts. Just as zoologists have recently made advances in the detailed and painstaking observation of animals in their natural habitat, so we are inclined to advocate more such studies in the use of the spoken language.

6.4 Relevance of Research in Spoken Language to Education

The lack of materials on spoken language is enough to make us question firstly whether there is any 'problem' of spoken English in the schools and secondly whether research will provide any answers. Our viewpoint can be summed up by saying that there will be no quick and direct pay-off from the research suggested to educational policy or practice. It is not yet clear if or how results could be incorporated into materials for the classroom. That

said, the value of having information on the rules underlying spoken language and its interpretation for teacher training purposes should not be underestimated.

6.5 Language Disadvantage: Normal Language

We do not regard the arguments in this area as profitable. We acknowledge that there are code differences and functional differences in the use to which the code is put. It is also true that certain linguistic skills are valued and rewarded at school while others are not. We feel that attempts to identify failure or deficit in the spoken language should not form the focus of research, at any rate in the immediate future. Knowledge of the range of linguistic behaviour and attitudes must come first.

6.6 Age of Subjects

We feel strongly that the answer to the educationists' quest for the causes of educational failure is not to be found by directing research at children of earlier and earlier years. Current theoretical interest in child language acquisition has led to answers about a child's language abilities being sought further and further back in his life. We maintain that most of the problems in the study of primary school children's spoken language arise out of the development of their ability to use language appropriately in context. Research should therefore be directed at the primary school and at the change-over points: nursery/primary and primary/secondary.

6.7 Recommended Areas of Research

6.7.1 Teacher Prescriptivism

We recommend that research be mounted to examine the norms that teachers have about what language is appropriate for the primary school classroom and the means by which these norms are conveyed to the children. Conflicting reports are received about present day attitudes of teachers to Scottish dialects and accents. The work would therefore examine which particular features of the local variety are received unfavourably by teachers and the ages at which they attempt to impose their own norms. Such a study would combine an examination of attitudes to language and an observational study of classroom behaviour. It would not be dependent upon a full-scale study of the local dialect usage first.

Initially work could be carried out in a limited number of schools in order to provide a number of case studies. As a second stage a wider survey in classrooms could be carried out to test the preliminary conclusions.

6.7.2 Children's Perception and Judgements of Accent/Dialect

In a related area further information would be useful about the development of children's perception and judgements of accent/dialect. Systematic information on the developmental aspect is quite lacking.

6.7.3 Children's language outside school

We have pointed out that for practical reasons there have been very few observational studies of children's use of language either in the home or in the company of their peers. Yet much unsupported discussion circles round whether children are being asked to perform verbally in a totally different way from the way they perform at home or with their peers. The little observation on the language of the home that is reported is on younger children acquiring language. Bernstein's work on the influence of the family requires field-work support.

Of more importance, if the work of Labov is to be supported, is the influence of the peer group. His pioneering work badly needs to be repeated. It can only be done by an anthropological type field study run in conjunction with linguistic work and this is a time consuming task. However, research is the only way of finding out whether by the end of the Primary School and beginning of Secondary School the peer group is in fact more influential than the family in providing a rival set of norms and values to that of the school. We would stress the difficulty of the work and the long term nature of it, but feel it is essential if 'peer group influence' is not to remain an unknown quantity.

6.7.4 Classroom Discourse

Sinclair et al's research on the discourse structure of classroom interaction has been extremely useful but it can only be considered to be a first step towards a linguistic

description. Further work along these lines in Scotland will be useful.

However, we suggest that an alternative strategy should be followed. The fundamental theoretical issue is how language function is related to linguistic form. It is possible to start the research at the opposite end from Sinclair and concentrate on investigating the rules underlying the way in which a particular speech act, e.g. command, elicitation may be realised. The approach advocated is essentially a narrow one in the sense that a series of limited problems can be chosen for study. While they are discrete in themselves the knowledge gained in tackling them will be cumulative and will provide a more solid base for future studies on the larger discourse structure of the classroom. In addition we feel it is worthwhile to investigate the way in which children gradually acquire the communicative rules necessary for interpreting their teachers' linguistic forms correctly. Language acquisition has so far been studied primarily in terms of the acquisition of the linguistic code and little work has been done on the way communicative rules are acquired. We would further point to the advantages in making comparisons at cross-over points in the child's career. The nursery/primary school changeover may be a particularly useful contrast to examine.

6.7.5 Intonation

One particularly important area connected with the above is the study of intonation and other linguistic and paralinguistic features in controlling the interpretation of speech acts. Little work has been done on the study of intonation in discourse and in view of its extreme importance we would strongly recommend further research. (Brown, G. in press).

6.7.6 Materials

We recommend that research into the production and use of spoken language materials should not be mounted at this stage. We would like to see a link up between the researches outlined above and in-service teacher training with materials production arising naturally from that link. Of most significance is likely to be the discourse work on form/function

relations, i.e. alternative linguistic means of expressing particular speech acts. This would link up with the work on Listening Comprehension Tests already developed by the Birmingham Oracy Project.

6.8 Overall Strategy

We do not recommend that a single very large scale project should be set up, but that instead a somewhat more flexible approach be followed by funding a number of smaller but related research projects. If planned within the kind of strategy suggested here the results would be additive and it would be easier to get such research off the ground quickly.

While not being directly related to the topic of this report it is worth pointing out that the absence of any major systematic or published socio-linguistic work on language use in Scotland means that the background information for the research we have recommended is not available. However, research into spoken language in the primary school should not wait on this more fundamental work.

6.9 Summary of Recommendations

We recommend the following four research areas as being of most immediate relevance to the Scottish Primary School:

1. Teacher Prescriptivism (see 6.7.1)
2. The study of form/function relations in a narrow area, e.g. command's, with particular reference to their development from nursery to primary and primary to secondary school (see 6.7.4)
3. The use and interpretation of intonation (see 6.7.5)
4. An anthropological type study of peer group language behaviour (see 6.7.3)

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